

	<u>12/94</u>	<u>11/9/94</u> *	<u>10/94</u>	<u>9/94</u>	<u>7/94</u>	<u>6/94</u>	<u>5/94</u>	<u>3/94</u>	<u>1/94</u>	<u>12/9</u> <u>3</u>	<u>10/9</u> <u>3</u>	
Right direction. .	34	37	27	28	28	32	30	33	39	35	27	[16 1

Wrong track.....	47	42	55	57	53	50	50	47	42	42	54
Mixed (VOL)....	13	12	14	11	13	12	13	14	13	16	14
Not sure.....	6	9	4	4	6	6	7	6	6	7	5

	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>5/92</u>	<u>9/91</u>
							2		
	33	27	27	37	43	47	45	15	34
	49	55	56	44	35	27	32	71	48
	12	13	10	11	11	14	11	9	13
	6	5	7	8	11	12	12	5	5

*Asked only of

3. I'm going to read you the names of several public figures and institutions. I'd like you to rate your feelings toward each one as either very positive, somewhat positive, neutral, somewhat negative, or very negative. If you don't know the name, please just say so. **(READ EACH ITEM AND REPEAT CHOICES. START FROM THE BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewhat Positive</u>	<u>Neu-tral</u>	<u>Somewhat Negative</u>	<u>Very Negative</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/ Not Sure</u>	
Bill Clinton							[17]
December 1994.....	15	26	19	18	21	1	
October 1994.....	16	26	16	16	25	1	
September 1994.....	13	28	18	18	23	-	
July 1994.....	15	28	17	15	24	1	
June 1994.....	17	29	17	16	20	1	
May 1994.....	19	29	18	16	17	1	
March 1994.....	18	29	19	16	17	1	
January 1994.....	20	35	17	14	14	-	
December 1993.....	22	33	15	15	14	1	
November 1993.....	24	30	14	14	16	2	
October 1993.....	16	30	18	16	19	1	
September 1993.....	18	32	15	17	17	1	
July 1993.....	15	31	17	16	20	1	
June 1993.....	16	28	15	17	23	1	
April 1993.....	25	27	18	13	16	1	
March 1993.....	26	30	15	12	14	3	
January 1993.....	33	31	15	9	7	5	
December 1992.....	26	34	18	10	9	3	
May 1992.....	8	24	24	23	14	7	
Newt Gingrich							[18]
December 1994.....	6	13	17	13	19	32	
October 1994.....	3	8	14	7	9	59	
October 1990*.....	1	8	10	6	6	69	
The Democratic Party							[19]
December 1994.....	10	23	25	24	16	2	
October 1994.....	13	23	25	20	17	2	
June 1994.....	12	29	25	19	12	3	
January 1994.....	11	29	29	17	11	3	
October 1993.....	11	25	26	20	15	3	
April 1993.....	15	29	22	18	13	3	
March 1993.....	15	32	20	18	12	3	
October 1992*.....	19	29	22	15	12	3	
October 1991*.....	12	25	24	21	13	5	
October 1990*.....	12	27	30	19	8	4	
Jesse Helms							[20]
December 1994.....	3	10	23	17	24	23	

Q.3. (cont'd)

	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewhat Positive</u>	<u>Neu- tral</u>	<u>Somewhat Negative</u>	<u>Very Negative</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/ Not Sure</u>	
The Republican Party							[21]
December 1994.....	17	31	22	14	13	3	
October 1994.....	14	27	26	16	14	3	
June 1994.....	10	27	27	18	14	4	
January 1994.....	12	30	29	16	9	4	
October 1993.....	16	28	27	15	11	3	
April 1993.....	9	30	26	18	13	4	
March 1993.....	8	27	23	22	16	4	
October 1992*.....	10	21	19	23	24	3	
October 1991*.....	12	32	21	17	14	4	
October 1990*.....	11	27	24	20	14	4	
Ross Perot							[22]
December 1994.....	8	22	24	18	25	3	
October 1994.....	8	17	25	18	30	2	
September 1994.....	5	14	29	23	24	5	
July 1994.....	8	18	26	21	24	3	
January 1994.....	7	16	20	26	28	3	
December 1993.....	7	16	19	24	30	4	
November 1993.....	11	17	21	20	27	4	
October 1993.....	11	19	25	22	20	3	
September 1993.....	12	24	26	19	16	3	
July 1993.....	13	24	25	17	17	4	
June 1993.....	16	25	24	16	15	4	
April 1993.....	17	27	27	15	11	3	
March 1993.....	16	31	25	13	11	4	
January 1993.....	16	26	24	16	14	4	
December 1992.....	13	22	27	18	15	5	
Phil Gramm							[23]
December 1994.....	6	13	24	6	6	45	
Hillary Rodham Clinton							[24]
December 1994.....	17	23	19	16	23	2	
October 1994.....	18	23	17	14	27	1	
September 1994.....	15	24	19	15	24	3	
July 1994.....	21	25	17	10	25	2	
June 1994.....	21	26	16	15	20	2	
May 1994.....	22	25	16	16	19	2	
March 1994.....	22	25	19	13	20	1	
January 1994.....	24	27	15	14	18	2	
December 1993.....	26	27	17	11	17	2	
October 1993.....	22	26	17	14	19	2	
September 1993.....	20	26	21	13	17	3	
July 1993.....	20	30	19	12	17	2	
June 1993.....	21	26	18	12	19	4	
April 1993.....	25	28	18	12	14	3	
March 1993.....	25	29	18	11	12	5	
January 1993.....	27	30	21	8	8	6	
December 1992.....	21	25	25	8	11	10	

Q.3. (cont'd)

	<u>Very</u>	<u>Somewhat</u>	<u>Neu- tral</u>	<u>Somewhat</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
		<u>Positive</u>		<u>Negative</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Name/ Not Sure</u>

*Asked only of registered voters.

Positive

Not Sure

Bob Dole

[25]

December 1994.....	16	31	21	14	10	8
October 1994.....	11	25	23	14	16	11
September 1994.....	14	24	24	13	12	13
July 1994.....	12	25	22	15	14	12
June 1994.....	11	26	26	12	12	13
May 1994.....	16	29	19	14	11	11
March 1994.....	12	24	24	15	13	12
January 1994.....	13	29	21	14	9	14
October 1993.....	12	26	24	14	10	14
September 1993.....	13	25	24	14	10	14
July 1993.....	10	22	25	14	13	16
June 1993.....	15	25	24	12	10	14

Joycelyn Elders

[26]

December 1994.....	4	10	17	10	24	35
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Al Gore

[27]

December 1994.....	17	27	24	16	12	4
October 1994.....	14	26	27	15	14	4
June 1994.....	16	24	28	13	11	8
March 1994.....	16	28	25	15	11	5
January 1994.....	17	31	23	13	10	6
December 1993.....	18	29	25	13	10	5
November 1993.....	21	31	22	13	11	2
October 1993.....	14	28	25	13	14	6
September 1993.....	17	30	24	12	12	5
March 1993.....	19	28	23	12	9	9
January 1993.....	23	32	22	9	6	8
December 1992.....	21	30	21	10	9	9

(BOTH FORMS)

4a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing as president?

	<u>12/9</u>	<u>11/9/</u>	<u>11/4-</u>	<u>10/9</u>	<u>9/9</u>	<u>7/9</u>	<u>6/9</u>	<u>5/9</u>	<u>3/9</u>	<u>1/9</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>10/9</u>	
	<u>4</u>	<u>94*</u>	<u>5/94</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	
Approve.....	48	43	44	48	44	49	52	57	55	60	56	47	[28]
Disapprove...	44	48	44	43	48	44	39	37	36	31	33	43	
Not sure....	8	9	12	9	8	7	9	6	9	9	11	10	
							<u>9/9</u>	<u>7/9</u>	<u>6/9</u>	<u>4/9</u>	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	
							<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>			
							50	45	41	52	57	51	
							39	45	50	34	26	16	
							11	10	9	14	17	33	

(FORM A)

4b. Do you generally approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing in handling the economy?

	<u>12/94</u>	<u>10/94</u>	<u>9/94</u>	<u>7/94</u>	<u>6/94</u>	<u>5/94</u>	<u>3/94</u>	<u>1/94</u>	<u>12/93</u>	<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	
Approve.....	46	44	40	45	48	43	<u>47</u>	<u>44</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>33</u>	40	33	35	52	[29]
Disapprove.....	46	47	51	46	41	46	43	39	39	50	48	51	56	40	28	
Not sure.....	8	9	9	9	11	11	10	11	13	10	10	9	11	15	20	

(FORM B)

4c. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing in handling our foreign policy?

	<u>12/94</u>	<u>10/94</u>	<u>9/94</u>	<u>7/94</u>	<u>6/94</u>	<u>5/94</u>	<u>3/94</u>	<u>1/94</u>	<u>12/93</u>	<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	
Approve.....	44	45	32	34	34	36	47	<u>53</u>	<u>45</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>33</u>	50	38	47	47	[30]
Disapprove.....	45	46	60	54	54	51	39	31	40	58	34	36	43	30	22	
Not sure.....	11	9	8	12	12	13	14	16	15	9	19	14	19	23	31	

(BOTH FORMS)

5. If the next election for president were held today and Bill Clinton were running as the Democratic candidate, would you definitely vote for Bill Clinton, probably vote for Bill Clinton, probably vote for the Republican candidate, or definitely vote for the Republican candidate?

	<u>12/94</u>	<u>7/94</u>	<u>3/94</u>	<u>1/94</u>	<u>12/93</u>	<u>10/93</u>	
Definitely vote for Bill Clinton.....	19	<u>18</u>	14	15	18	11	[31]
Probably vote for Bill Clinton.....	19	22	24	26	24	25	
Probably vote for the Republican candidate.....	20	17	19	17	19	20	
Definitely vote for the Republican candidate.....	25	24	17	15	14	19	
Depends (VOL).....	12	13	16	18	16	14	
Neither (VOL).....	2	1	3	2	2	2	
Ross Perot (VOL).....	-	1	-	1	1	2	
Not sure.....	3	4	7	6	6	7	

6a. Do you believe Bill Clinton is a tax-and-spend, big-government kind of Democrat, or is he a different kind of Democrat?

	<u>12/94</u>	<u>10/94</u>	<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	<u>10/92</u>	
Bill Clinton is a tax-and-spend, big-government Democrat.....	33	33	41	<u>37</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>35</u>	[32]
Bill Clinton is a different kind of Democrat.....	58	58	50	54	54	47	60	56	
Not sure.....	9	9	9	9	8	11	11	9	

*Asked only of registered voters.

- 6b. Overall, would you say that Bill Clinton has or has not lived up to the commitments he made during the 1992 campaign?

Has lived up to commitments.....	3	[33]
	0	
Has not lived up to commitments.....	5	
	6	
Some of both (VOL).....	1	
	0	
Not sure.....	4	

- 6c. Do you think that Bill Clinton has or has not gotten the message of November's elections?

Think Bill Clinton has gotten message.....	5	[34]
	9	
Do not think Bill Clinton has gotten message.....	2	
	8	
Somewhat/mixed (VOL).....	4	
Not sure.....	9	

- 7a. As a result of November's elections, how much change do you think there will be in the direction of the country--a great deal, quite a bit, just some, or not that much?

	<u>12/94</u>	<u>11/9/94</u>	
		*	
A great deal of change.....	16	17	[35]
Quite a bit of change.....	21	18	
Just some change.....	35	35	
Not that much change.....	24	25	
No change (VOL).....	2	2	
Not sure.....	2	3	

- 7b. Overall, how do you feel about the results of November's elections--do you feel they are very positive for the country, somewhat positive, somewhat negative, or very negative for the country?

	<u>12/94</u>	<u>11/9/94</u>	
		*	
Very positive.....	19	25	[36]
Somewhat positive.....	45	44	
Somewhat negative.....	19	14	
Very negative.....	10	9	
Neutral/mixed (VOL).....	4	4	
Not sure.....	3	4	

8. Who do you want to see take the lead role in setting policy for the country---President Clinton or the Congress?

	<u>12/94</u>	<u>11/9/94</u>	
		*	
President Clinton.....	31	30	[37]
Congress.....	55	55	
Shared/equal role (VOL).....	8	11	
Neither (VOL).....	2	1	
Not sure.....	4	3	

- 9a. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent, or something else?

(IF "DEMOCRAT" OR "REPUBLICAN," ASK:) Would you call yourself a strong (Democrat/Republican) or not a very strong (Democrat/Republican)? **(IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "NOT VERY STRONG DEMOCRAT/ REPUBLICAN.")**

(IF "INDEPENDENT," ASK:) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party, closer to the Democratic Party, or do you think of yourself as strictly Independent? **(IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "STRICTLY INDEPENDENT.")**

Strong Democrat.....	14		[38]
		CONTINUE	
Not very strong Democrat.....	13		
Independent/lean Democrat.....	9		
Strictly Independent.....	17	CONTINUE	
Independent/lean Republican.....	11		
Not very strong Republican.....	11	SKIP TO Q.9d.	
Strong Republican.....	15		
Other.....	8		
Refused.....	-	SKIP TO Q.10.	
Don't know/nothing.....	2		

(ASK ONLY OF DEMOCRATS AND STRICT INDEPENDENTS IN Q.9a)

- 9b. Would you like the Democratic Party to nominate Bill Clinton again in 1996 as its presidential candidate, or would you prefer that the Democratic Party nominate someone else?

	All Democrats/Stri ct Independents	All <u>Democrats</u>	
Like the Democratic Party to nominate Bill Clinton.....	45	53	[39]
Prefer the Democratic Party nominate someone else.....	40	32	
Too early to say (VOL).....	9	9	
Not sure.....	6	6	

(ASK ONLY OF DEMOCRATS AND STRICT INDEPENDENTS IN Q.9a.)

- 9c. If you were voting today in the 1996 Democratic primary for president, and the candidates were **(ROTATE ORDER OF NAMES)** Bill Clinton, Jesse Jackson, and Bob Kerrey, which candidate would you favor? **(IF "NOT SURE," ASK:)** Well, which way do you lean?

	12/94	All	10/94	All	
	Democrats/Stri	Democrat	Democrats/Stri	Democrat	
	ct	s	ct	s	
	<u>Independents</u>		<u>Independents</u>		
Bill Clinton.....	60	71	65	74	[40]
Jesse Jackson.....	9	9	10	9	
Bob Kerrey.....	15	12	12	8	
Depends (VOL).....	1	-	1	1	
Someone else/none (VOL)...	8	3	6	3	
Not sure.....	7	5	6	5	

(ASK ONLY OF REPUBLICANS AND STRICT INDEPENDENTS IN Q.9a.)

- 9d. Let me read you a list of people who might seek the 1996 Republican nomination for president. If you were voting today in the 1996 Republican primary for president, which **one** of the following candidates would you favor? **(READ LIST. START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW. IF "NOT SURE," ASK:)** Well, which way do you lean? **(ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER.)**

	12/94	All	10/94	All	
	Republicans/Stri	Republicans	Republicans/Stri	Republican	
	ct <u>Independents</u>		ct <u>Independents</u>	s	
Lamar Alexander.....	2	1	1	2	[41]
Pat Buchanan	3	3	3	3	
Dick Cheney	9	10	11	12	
Bob Dole.....	29	32	27	30	
Phil Gramm	6	7	3	3	
Jack Kemp.....	14	15	18	17	
Dan Quayle.....	16	17	20	23	
Someone else/none	4	3	6	4	
(VOL).....					
Not sure.....	17	12	11	6	

(ASK EVERYONE)

10. I'd like to read you a list of seven possible legislative priorities. Please tell me which one or two you feel are the most important issues for the next Congress to address. **(READ LIST SLOWLY. START FROM BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW. ACCEPT NO MORE THAN TWO ANSWERS.)**

Job training programs.....	21	[42]
A balanced budget amendment	28	>
A revised crime bill.....	21	
Welfare reform.....	37	
Health care reform.....	31	
A middle class tax cut.....	22	
A school prayer amendment.....	11	
All equally important (VOL).....	3	
None is important (VOL).....	-	
Not sure.....	1	

Now I have a few questions on the economy...

- 11a. During the past year, do you think the national economy has gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed about the same?

	<u>12/9</u>	<u>10/9</u>	<u>9/94</u>	<u>1/94</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>2/92</u>	<u>12/91</u>	<u>9/91</u>	
Has gotten better.....	35	31	28	32	26	6	3	8	[43]
Has gotten worse.....	18	22	27	17	22	73	74	57	
Has stayed about the same.	45	45	44	50	50	20	22	33	
Not sure.....	2	2	1	1	2	1	1	2	
		<u>6/91</u>	<u>12/90</u>	<u>9/90*</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>1/90*</u>	<u>8/89</u>		
		*	*		*		*		
		11	3	6	11	12	18		
		54	73	57	37	29	23		
		35	23	35	51	57	57		
		-	1	2	1	2	2		

*Asked only of registered

- 11b. During the next year, do you think the national economy will get better, get worse, or stay about the same?

	<u>12/94</u>	<u>10/94</u>	<u>9/9</u>	<u>6/94</u>	<u>5/94</u>	<u>3/94</u>	<u>1/9</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>10/9</u>	<u>9/93</u>	
Will get better.....	31	31	28	28	27	29	44	43	21	23	[44]
Will get worse.....	17	24	24	17	21	16	16	19	27	24	
Will stay about the same.....	46	40	44	52	49	52	36	34	50	51	
Not sure.....	6	5	4	3	3	3	4	4	2	2	
		<u>7/9</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/9</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>5/92</u>	<u>9/91</u>		
		3				3	2		*		
		20	23	33	39	50	53	32	31		
		29	27	21	15	9	10	20	24		
		48	47	44	43	39	35	45	40		
		3	3	2	3	2	2	3	5		

*Asked only of registered

- 12a. How satisfied are you with the state of the U.S. economy today--are you very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with the state of the economy?

Very satisfied.....	4	[45]
Somewhat satisfied.....	4	
	1	
Somewhat dissatisfied.....	3	
	8	
Very dissatisfied.....	1	
	5	
Not sure.....	2	

- 12b. What is your feeling about your own financial situation today--are you very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with your financial situation?

Very satisfied.....	1	[46]
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13a. Do you expect your children's generation to enjoy a higher standard of living than your generation?

	<u>12/9</u>	<u>9/9</u>	<u>7/9</u>	<u>5/90</u>	
Yes, expect children's generation to enjoy a higher standard of living.	48	49	45	60	[47]
No, do not expect children's generation to enjoy a higher standard of living.....	46	45	50	37	
Not sure.....	6	6	5	3	

13b. Do you think that your generation is enjoying a higher standard of living than your parent's generation?

Yes, think my generation is enjoying a higher standard of living.....	7	[48]
No, do not think my generation is enjoying a higher standard of living...	3	
Not sure.....	2	
	5	

- 14a. Now, I'd like to read you a list of economic issues. As of right now, which one of the following do you feel is the most important economic issue facing the country? **(READ LIST SLOWLY. START FROM BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW. ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER.)**

	<u>12/94</u>	<u>10/94</u>	<u>9/94</u>	<u>6/94</u>	<u>5/94</u>	<u>3/94</u>	<u>1/94</u>	<u>12/93</u>	<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/93</u>
Inflation.....	9	8	10	6	8	6	5	6	5	8
Unemployment.....	30	32	34	35	35	33	37	40	43	40
Interest rates.....	6	3	4	5	4	2	2	2	3	2
The federal budget deficit.....	30	30	27	30	24	33	31	25	26	26
Federal taxes.....	11	12	11	11	12	10	8	11	12	11
The U.S. trade deficit.....	10	8	9	8	9	9	9	7	6	8
All equally important (VOL)....	2	6	3	4	6	5	5	7	4	4
None is important (VOL).....	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Not sure.....	2	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	1	1
			<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	<u>12/92</u>	<u>5/92</u>	<u>9/91*</u>
			8	6	4	7	7	6	7	11
			37	40	44	44	44	46	46	37
			2	2	2	2	2	3	2	3

31	28	28	28	28	24	22	21
10	11	9	7	5	5	5	7
6	8	7	8	8	10	8	8
4	4	5	3	5	5	8	10
1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1	1	1	1	1	1	2	3

*Asked only of registered voters.

- 14b. Now I would like to read you a few things that some people feel are economic problems today. For each one, please tell me on a scale from 1 to 10 how serious a problem it is. A number from eight to ten means this is one of the country's most serious problems, from four to seven means that it is a serious problem, and from one to three means it is a less serious problem. You may use any number from one to ten, depending on how serious you feel the problem is. **(READ ITEMS AND REPEAT CHOICES. ROTATE ORDER OF ITEMS ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW. MAKE SURE RESPONDENT UNDERSTANDS SCALE. IF "NOT SURE," RECORD A "*.")**

	Among Most Serious		Among Least Serious	Not Sure	
	(10 to 8)	(4 to 7)	(1 to 3)		
Jobs that do not provide good wages and benefits	44	49	6	1	[50]
Increasing gaps between the best-off and worst-off Americans.....	40	48	9	3	[51]
Taxes that are too high.....	55	38	6	1	[52]
Prices rising faster than incomes.....	57	34	8	1	[53]
Too much government regulation of business.....	48	40	9	3	[54]
Full-time jobs being replaced by part-time and temporary jobs.....	57	34	7	2	[55]
Retirement benefits that people cannot count on	68	26	4	2	[56]
Unemployment.....	51	41	6	2	[57]
Workers not having the training and skills they need	44	46	8	2	[58]
People not being able to afford health insurance.....	70	24	5	1	[59]
U.S. jobs lost to foreign trade.....	52	35	9	4	[60]

- 15a. Do you believe that the jobs now being created in the U.S. economy are mainly high-paying jobs or mainly low-paying jobs?

	<u>12/94</u>	<u>5/94</u>	
Mainly high-paying jobs.....	10	13	[61]
Mainly low-paying jobs.....	77	72	
Mixed (VOL).....	6	4	
Jobs are not being created (VOL).....	-	2	
Not sure.....	7	9	

- 15b. As you may know, in recent years many businesses have laid off employees and restructured their companies in a process often called "downsizing." Do you think most of the downsizing of American businesses is over, or do you think there is still more downsizing to come?

	<u>12/94</u>	<u>1/94</u>	
Most of the downsizing is over. .	14	11	[62]
Still more downsizing to come..	83	85	
Not sure.....	3	4	

- 15c. And overall, do you think that downsizing has mostly been good for the country, because it allows businesses to be more efficient and competitive, or bad for the country, because it costs jobs and reduces people's economic security?

Good for the country.....	2	[63]
	4	
Bad for the country.....	6	
	5	
Both/Neither (VOL).....	7	
Not sure.....	4	

(FORM A)

- 16a. Let me read you a list of some groups and individuals, and I would like you to tell me how well each one represents the economic interests of the middle class--very well, fairly well, just somewhat well, or not very well. **(READ CHOICES AND REPEAT FOR EACH ITEM. ROTATE ORDER OF ITEMS ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	<u>Very Well</u>	<u>Fairly Well</u>	<u>Just Somewhat Well</u>	<u>Not Very Well</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/ Not Sure</u>	
Ross Perot.....	11	16	30	39	4	[64]
The Democratic Party.	12	21	31	34	2	[65]
Newt Gingrich.....	7	9	21	28	35	[66]
The Republican Party.	14	18	30	33	5	[67]
Bill Clinton.....	13	22	29	34	2	[68]
Bob Dole.....	10	22	31	24	13	[69]

(FORM B)

- 16b. Let me read you a list of some groups and individuals, and I would like you to tell me how well each one represents the values of the middle class--very well, fairly well, just somewhat well, or not very well. **(READ CHOICES AND REPEAT FOR EACH ITEM. ROTATE ORDER OF ITEMS ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	<u>Very Well</u>	<u>Fairly Well</u>	<u>Just Somewhat Well</u>	<u>Not Very Well</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/ Not Sure</u>	
Ross Perot.....	13	17	28	40	2	[70]
The Democratic Party.	13	19	37	29	2	[71]
Newt Gingrich.....	7	12	19	30	32	[72]
The Republican Party.	13	24	31	29	3	[73]
Bill Clinton.....	14	22	29	34	1	[74]
Bob Dole.....	10	25	37	19	9	[75]

17. Now, I'm going to read you a list of goals. For each one, please tell me which you think should have more responsibility for achieving this goal--federal government or state government. **(ROTATE ORDER OF ITEMS ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	Federal Governme nt	State Governme nt	Neither (VOL)	Both (VOL)	Not Sure	
FORM A--NEXT 5 ITEMS	24	68	-	7	1	[76]
Reducing crime.....						
Improving public education.....	22	72	-	5	1	[77]
Improving morals and values...	24	44	24	6	2	[78]
Providing job training.....	31	55	3	9	2	[79]
Providing assistance to the poor.....	40	44	2	12	2	[80]
FORM B--NEXT 5 ITEMS	45	48	2	4	1	[81]
Improving the health care system.....						
Strengthening the economy....	67	23	1	8	1	[82]
Protecting the environment.....	44	45	-	10	1	[83]
Reforming welfare.....	39	52	-	9	-	[84]
Improving opportunities for racial and ethnic minorities.....	41	46	2	10	1	[85]

(BOTH FORMS)

- 18a. As you may know, Republican candidates for Congress this year endorsed a common agenda, called the "Contract with America." Before I just mentioned it, had you heard or read about this? **(IF YES:)** Have you heard a great deal, a fair amount, just some, or not that much about the Republican contract? **(IF NOT SURE HOW MUCH HAVE HEARD, CODE AS "NOT THAT MUCH")**

	<u>12/94</u>	<u>10/94</u>	
<u>Have Heard About Contract</u>			
A great deal.....	8	3	[86]
Fair amount.....	12	7	
Just some.....	12	9	
Not that much.....	12	8	
Not sure.....	NA	1	
<u>Have Not Heard About Contract. .</u>	55	71	
<u>Not Sure If Have Heard About</u>	1	1	
<u>Contract.....</u>			

- 18b. From what you know, do you agree or disagree with most of what the Republicans in Congress are proposing to do?

Agree.....	4	[87]
	1	
Disagree.....	2	
	8	
Both/mixed (VOL).....	6	
Not sure.....	2	
	5	

19a. Which do you think is the more important priority for the country today--reducing taxes or reducing the budget deficit?

Reducing taxes.....	3	[88]
	5	
Reducing the budget deficit.....	5	
	8	
Depends (VOL).....	4	
Not sure.....	3	

(FORM A)

19b. Do you favor or oppose a balanced budget amendment to the U.S. Constitution?

Favor.....	6	[89]
	8	
Oppose.....	1	
	9	
Depends (VOL).....	3	
Not sure.....	1	
	0	

(FORM B)

19c. Would you favor or oppose a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution if that would require a twenty percent cut in spending on entitlement programs such as Medicare, Medicaid, and veterans benefits?

Favor.....	3	[90]
	3	
Oppose.....	6	
	1	
Depends (VOL).....	3	
Not sure.....	3	

(FORM A)

20a. Would you favor or oppose cutting spending on such government programs as Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, and farm subsidies in order to reduce the federal budget deficit?

	<u>12/94</u>	<u>7/94</u>	
Favor.....	23	23	[91]
Oppose.....	70	66	
Depends (VOL).....	6	8	
Not sure.....	1	3	

(FORM B)

20b. Would you favor or oppose cutting spending on government entitlement programs in order to reduce the federal budget deficit?

	<u>12/94</u>	<u>7/94</u>	
Favor.....	59	61	[92]
Oppose.....	32	25	
Depends (VOL).....	5	7	
Not sure.....	4	7	

(BOTH FORMS)

21a. Here are some tax reductions that will be considered by the next Congress. Which one, if any, would you most like to see passed? **(READ ITEMS. ROTATE ORDER.)**

A cut in the capital gains tax on investments.....	2	[93]
	0	
A tax credit for parents of five hundred dollars per child..	3	
	3	
A tax credit for businesses that invest in new equipment	1	
	4	
A cut in the taxes paid on Social Security benefits by	2	
people with incomes over forty-five thousand dollars.....	3	
None.....	4	
Not sure.....	6	

(FORM A)

- 21b. Do you favor or oppose a reduction in the capital gains taxes that investors pay on the sale of stocks, businesses, or other assets?

	<u>12/94</u>	<u>2/92*</u>	<u>1/92*</u>	<u>10/91⁺</u>	<u>3/91*</u>	<u>1/90*</u>	[94]
Favor.....	43	48	42	44	45	45	
Oppose.....	41	42	48	44	45	47	
Depends (VOL)	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
Not sure.....	15	10	10	12	10	8	

(FORM B)

- 21c. Which of these two statements about a reduction in the capital gains tax do you agree with more:

Statement A: A capital gains tax cut is good for the country because it encourages new investments, and that creates jobs and promotes growth.

Statement B: A capital gains tax cut is bad for the country because it benefits only the wealthy and it increases the budget deficit.

Statement A/good for the	4	[95]
country.....	4	
Statement B/bad for the	4	
country.....	8	
Depends (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	6	

(FORM A)

- 22a. Would you favor or oppose requiring a sixty percent vote of Congress to raise taxes, instead of the simple majority required now?

Favor.....	6	[96]
	0	
Oppose.....	3	
	2	
Depends (VOL).....	1	
Not sure.....	7	

(FORM B)

- 22b. Would you favor or oppose requiring a sixty percent vote of Congress to cut spending on entitlements such as Social Security and Medicare, instead of the simple majority required now?

Favor.....	5	[97]
	3	
Oppose.....	4	
	2	
Depends (VOL).....	1	
Not sure.....	4	

(FORM B)

23a. Do you favor or oppose increasing the minimum wage?

Favor.....	7	[98]
	5	
Oppose.....	2	
	0	
Depends (VOL).....	3	
Not sure.....	2	

(FORM A)

23b. Some people have suggested that the minimum wage be increased to help people in low-paying jobs keep up with the cost of living. Other people feel that an increase in the minimum wage would increase costs to businesses and weaken the economy. Do you favor or oppose increasing the minimum wage?

	<u>12/94</u>	<u>10/93</u>	
Favor.....	69	64	[99]
Oppose.....	27	31	
Not sure.....	4	5	

(FORM B)

24a. As you may know, Congress recently approved a new world trade agreement called "GATT" **(READ AS A WORD)**--the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade--which lowers world trade barriers and establishes an international organization that will have the power to rule on trade disputes between countries. Do you think GATT will be good for the United States, bad for the United States, or don't you know enough about GATT to say?

GATT good.....	42	[100]
		1
GATT bad.....	17	
Don't know enough about GATT to say.....	39	
Not sure.....	2	

(FORM A)

24b. As you may know, last year the Congress approved NAFTA--the North American Free Trade Agreement--which lowered trade barriers between the U.S., Canada, and Mexico. Do you favor or oppose having the U.S. negotiate a similar trade agreement with all the nations of Latin America and South America?

Favor.....	5	[101]
	2	
Oppose.....	3	
	5	
Depends (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	1	
	1	

(BOTH FORMS)**Turning to some other topics...**

25a. Do you favor or oppose a constitutional amendment limiting the terms of members of Congress to no more than twelve years?

Favor.....	7	[102
	8]
Oppose.....	1	
	9	
Not sure.....	3	

- 25b. If term limits for members of Congress are established, should the years already served by current members count toward the limit, meaning that some members would have to retire at the end of this term, or should only years served from now on count toward the limit?

Previous years should apply	5	[103
	4]
Previous years should not apply...	4	
	0	
Not sure.....	6	

- 26a. Do you favor or oppose welfare reform that would require recipients to work and would limit benefits to two years?

Favor.....	8	[104]
	2	
Oppose.....	1	
	1	
Depends (VOL).....	5	
Not sure.....	2	

(FORM A)

- 26b. Which one of the following plans for welfare reform would you prefer? **(DO NOT ROTATE.)**

Plan A: Welfare recipients would receive job training, be required to work after two years, and be provided with a public sector job if a private sector job were not available. In addition, unwed mothers under age 18 would have to live with their parents in order to receive benefits.

OR

Plan B: Welfare recipients would receive limited job training, be required to work in order to receive benefits, and would lose their benefits after two years with no provision for public sector jobs. In addition, unwed mothers under age 18 and their children would not be eligible for benefits.

Plan A/job training, provided with a job, unwed mothers live with parents	6	[105
	2]
Plan B/limited job training, not job provision, unwed mothers not eligible.....	2	
	7	
Neither (VOL).....	7	
Not sure.....	4	

(FORM B)

- 26c. Do you favor or oppose a proposal that would end all welfare benefits for unwed mothers under age 18 and their children, and would turn the savings over to the states for programs to care for their children in group homes and orphanages?

Favor.....	<u>12/94</u>		<u>6/94*</u>	[106
	32		32	

Oppose.....	59		60	1
Not sure.....	9		8	

(FORM A)

27a. Would you favor or oppose a constitutional amendment to allow prayer in public schools?

	<u>12/94</u>	<u>12/91*</u>	
Favor.....	66	61	[107]
Oppose.....	31	35	
Not sure.....	3	4	

(FORM B)

27b. Would you favor or oppose a constitutional amendment to allow prayer in public schools, if that meant school officials would be involved in selecting the prayers to be used?

Favor.....	3	[108]
	8	
Oppose.....	5	
	7	
Not sure.....	5	

BOTH FORMS

28. Do you believe that Congress and the President should continue their efforts to reform the health care system, or would you prefer that they leave the system as it is now?

	<u>12/94</u>	<u>10/94</u>	<u>7/94</u>	<u>6/94</u>	
Congress and President should continue efforts....	69	64	70	71	[109]
Congress and President should leave system as is	28	33	26	25	
Not sure.....	3	3	4	4	

- 29a. Which one of the following do you think is the most serious foreign policy issue facing the United States today? **(ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW. RECORD RESPONSE UNDER Q.25a BELOW.)**

<u>Q.29</u>								
	<u>12/9</u>		<u>9/94</u>	<u>7/94</u>	<u>6/9</u>	<u>5/9</u>	<u>1/94</u>	<u>12/9</u>
	<u>4</u>				<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>		<u>3</u>
The war between Bosnia and Serbia.....	25		8	12	11	21	15	14
Instability in Russia and the other countries that were part of the Soviet Union.....	17		17	15	14	18	30	21
The situation in Haiti*.....	7	CONTINUE	17	13	7	3	4	4
North Korea's nuclear program+.....	16		25	33	46	25	23	31
U.S. relations with Cuba**.....	5		8	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Relations between Israel and the Arab nations***.....	16		12	8	7	14	15	13
All equally (VOL).....	6	SKIP TO	4	5	5	8	5	8
None of these (VOL).....	3	Q.30a	3	2	1	1	1	2
Not sure.....	5		6	6	6	7	7	7

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO NAME A MOST SERIOUS ISSUE IN Q.29a.)

- 29b. And which one of these issues is the second most serious foreign policy issue? **(READ LIST AGAIN, EXCLUDING RESPONSE SELECTED AS MOST SERIOUS. RECORD UNDER Q.29b ABOVE.)**

<u>Q.29</u>								
	<u>12/9</u>		<u>9/94</u>	<u>7/94</u>	<u>6/94</u>	<u>5/94</u>	<u>1/94</u>	<u>12/9</u>
	<u>4</u>							<u>3</u>
The war between Bosnia and Serbia.....	15		13	13	15	17	16	14
Instability in Russia and the other countries that were part of the Soviet Union.....	15		16	15	16	17	24	19
The situation in Haiti*.....	8		14	12	11	5	5	7
North Korea's nuclear program+.....	16		18	18	15	19	20	21
U.S. relations with Cuba**.....	8		11	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Relations between Israel and the Arab nations***.....	20		13	14	15	14	20	19
All equally (VOL).....	-		-	-	-	-	-	-
None of these (VOL).....	1		-	1	1	-	-	-
Not sure	3		2	3	3	3	2	3
No most serious policy issue (Q.29a).....	14		13	13	12	16	13	17

(ASK EVERYONE)

30a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing in handling the situation in Bosnia?

Approve.....	4	[112]
	1	
Disapprove.....	4	
	3	
Not sure.....	1	
	6	

30b. Do you approve or disapprove of President Clinton's offer to send up to twenty-five thousand U.S. ground troops to Bosnia to help with the evacuation of U.N. peacekeeping forces that are there now and under attack?

Approve.....	5	[113]
	7	
Disapprove.....	3	
	6	
Depends (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	5	

And, getting toward the end of the survey...

31. In your opinion, is O.J. Simpson guilty or not guilty of the murders he has been charged with committing?

	<u>12/9</u>	<u>9/9</u>	<u>7/9</u>	
O.J. Simpson is guilty.....	<u>4</u> 49	<u>4</u> 42	<u>4</u> 33	[114]
O.J. Simpson is not guilty.....	16	22	23]
Not sure.....	35	36	44	

32a. Are you a fan of major league baseball?

	<u>12/94</u>		<u>9/94</u>	<u>7/94</u>	
Yes, major league baseball fan.....	44	CONTINUE	42	55	[115]
No, not a major league baseball fan.....	55	SKIP TO	58	44	
Not sure.....	1	Q.33a.	-	1	

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THEY ARE MAJOR LEAGUE BASEBALL FANS IN Q.32a)

32b. As you know, there is currently a baseball strike. Which side do you hold more responsible--the team owners or the players?

	<u>12/94</u>	<u>9/94</u>	<u>7/94</u>	
Hold team owners responsible.....	31	28	37	[116]
Hold baseball players responsible.....	40	43	47	
Both equally responsible (VOL).....	25	26	8	
Not sure	4	3	8	

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THEY ARE MAJOR LEAGUE BASEBALL FANS IN Q.32a)

32c. If the major league baseball players are still on strike at the beginning of next season and the owners schedule games with replacement players, would you pay to go see those games?

Yes, would pay	4	[117]
	3	
No, would not pay to go.....	5	
	4	
Not sure	3	

(ASK EVERYONE)

- 33a. Compared to other years, do you think 1994 was one of the best years for the United States, above average, about average, below average, or one of the worst years for the United States?

	<u>12/94</u>	<u>12/93</u>	<u>12/92</u>	<u>12/91*</u>	
One of the best years.....	2	1	2	3	[118]
Above average.....	19	12	9	11	
About average.....	51	43	28	30	
Below average.....	21	32	39	39	
One of the worst years.....	6	10	21	16	
Not sure.....	1	2	1	1	

- 33b. Compared to 1994, do you think 1995 will be better, the same, or worse for the country?

	<u>12/94</u>	<u>12/93</u>	<u>12/92</u>	
Will be better.....	49	48	60	[119]
Will be the same.....	35	29	26	
Will be worse.....	11	18	9	
Not sure.....	5	5	5	

- 33c. In your view, which one or two of the following events of 1994 were the most significant?
(ROTATE ORDER OF ITEMS ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW. ACCEPT ONLY TWO RESPONSES.)

Republicans gaining control of Congress	51	[120]
The death of Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis.....	5	
Susan Smith killing her two children.....	23	>
The baseball and hockey strikes.....	3	
The Middle East peace agreement.....	31	
U.S. troops going to Haiti.....	17	
The murder trial of O.J. Simpson	13	
Other (VOL).....	-	
All/none (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	2	

(ASK EVERYONE)

FACTUALS: Now I am going to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only.

- F1. Did you happen to vote in the 1992 presidential election?

(IF "YES," ASK:) For whom did you vote--George Bush, the Republican, Bill Clinton, the Democrat, or Ross Perot, the Independent?

<u>Yes, Voted</u>		
George Bush.....	3	{200}
	2	
Bill Clinton	3	
	4	
Ross Perot.....	1	
	0	
None (VOL)/not sure/refused.....	3	
<u>No, Did Not Vote</u>	1	
	9	

- Not Sure If Voted/Refused..... 2**
- F2. In politics today, do you generally consider yourself to be very liberal, somewhat liberal, moderate, somewhat conservative, very conservative, or do you think your views cannot really be described in those terms?

Very liberal.....	5	{201}
Somewhat liberal.....	1	
	9	
Moderate.....	2	
	4	
Somewhat conservative.....	2	
	5	
Very conservative.....	9	
Views cannot be described in those terms.....	1	
	6	
Not sure.....	2	

- F3. What is the last grade you completed in school? **(DO NOT READ CHOICES.)**

Grade school.....	2	{203}
Some high school.....	6	
High school graduate.....	3	
	2	
Some college, no degree.....	1	
	8	
Vocational training, 2-year college.....	1	
	1	
4-year college/bachelor's degree.....	1	
	8	
Some postgraduate work, no degree.....	2	
2-3 years' postgraduate work, master's degree.....	7	
Doctoral degree/law degree.....	3	
Not sure.....	1	

- F4. How old are you? (IF REFUSED, ASK:) Well, can you tell me which age group you belong to? Are you in the age group 18 to 24, 25 to 29, 30 to 34, 35 to 39, 40 to 44, 45 to 49, 50 to 54, 55 to 59, 60 to 64, or 65 and over?

18-24.....	1	{204}
	1	}
25-29.....	9	
30-34.....	1	
	3	
35-39.....	1	
	0	
40-44.....	1	
	1	
45-49.....	9	
50-54.....	7	
55-59.....	6	
60-64.....	5	
65 and over.....	1	
	8	
Refused.....	1	

- F5. What type of work do you do? (WRITE JOB DESCRIPTION IN SPACE BELOW.)

Professional/manager.....	2	{205}
	7	
White collar worker.....	1	
	5	

Blue collar worker.....	2
	3
Farmer.....	1
Student.....	3
Homemaker.....	7
Retired.....	2
	0
Unemployed.....	3
Never worked/not sure.....	1

(ASK OF ALL WOMEN.)

F6. Do you work outside the home or not?

Work outside the home.....	2	{206}
	8	
Do not work outside the home.....	2	
	0	
Not sure/refused.....	4	

(ASK EVERYONE.)

F7a. In what religion were you brought up?

Protestant.....	5	CONTINU	{207}
	8	E	
Catholic.....	3	SKIP TO	
	1	Q.F8	
Jewish.....	2		
Other.....	4		
None.....	3		
Not sure/refused.....	2		

(ASK ONLY OF PROTESTANTS IN Q.F7a.)

F7b. Would you describe yourself as either a fundamentalist or an evangelical Christian, or would you not describe yourself that way?

Fundamentalist.....	6	{208}
Evangelical	11	
Neither Fundamentalist nor	36	
Evangelical.....		
Both (VOL).....	1	
Not sure.....	4	
Not Protestant (Q.F7a).....	42	

(ASK EVERYONE)

F8. Do you regularly listen to political call-in shows on the radio?

Yes, regularly listen to call-in radio shows.....	2	{250}
	5	}
No, do not regularly listen to call-in radio	7	
shows.....	3	
Not sure.....	2	

F9. Are you, or is any member of your household, a member of a labor union?

Labor union member.....	1	{213}
	2	
Labor union household.....	8	
Nonunion household.....	7	
	9	
Not sure.....	1	

F10. Are you white, black, Hispanic, Asian, or something else?

White.....	79	{214}
Black.....	11	

Hispanic.....	5
Asian.....	1
Other.....	2
Not sure/refused.....	2

F11. If you added together the yearly income of all the members of your family who were living at home last year, would the total be less than \$10,000, between \$10,000 and \$20,000, between \$20,000 and \$30,000, between \$30,000 and \$40,000, between \$40,000 and \$50,000, between \$50,000 and \$75,000, or would the total be more than that?

Less than \$10,000.....	8	{216}
Between \$10,000 and \$20,000.....	1	
	2	
Between \$20,000 and \$30,000.....	1	
	9	
Between \$30,000 and \$40,000.....	1	
	5	
Between \$40,000 and \$50,000.....	1	
	4	
Between \$50,000 and \$75,000.....	1	
	4	
More than \$75,000.....	1	
	2	
Not sure/refused.....	6	